

Doc. No. 220 C (21)

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MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(WASHINGTON,) March 8, 1941.

Excerpts.

The Ambassador then said that it would be well-nigh unthinkable for our two countries to fight each other on account of the destructive effects that would inevitably result in any event. I here spoke and said that my country entertained the same idea about the destructive effects of a military clash between our two countries. I then inquired of the Ambassador whether the military groups in control of his Government could possibly expect important nations like the United States to sit absolutely quiet while two or three nations before our very eyes organized naval and military forces and went out and conquered the balance of the earth, including the seven seas and all trade routes and the other four continents. Could they expect countries like mine to continue to remain complacent as that movement is going on? I inquired further what countries like mine would have to gain by remaining complacent in the face of a movement to substitute force and conquest for law and justice and order and fair dealing and equality. The Ambassador sought to play down the view that such military conquest was really in the mind of his Government and he then said that embargoes by this country were, of course, of increasing concern, and that he did not believe there would be any further military movements unless the policy of increasing embargoes by this country should force his Government, in the minds of those in control, to take further military steps. To this I replied that this is a matter entirely in the hands of his Government for the reason that his Government took the initiative in military expansion and seizures of territory of other countries, thereby creating an increasingly deep concern on the part of my own and other countries as to the full extent of Japanese conquest by force which was contemplated; that my country has not been at fault and none of the nations engaged in conquest have pretended seriously to charge it with any action of omission or commission in relation to the present movement of world conquest by force on the part of some three nations, including Japan. The Ambassador sought here to minimize and mildly to controvert the idea that Japan is engaged in broad unqualified military conquest. I then repeated the terms of the Tripartite Agreement and the public declaration of Hitler and Matsuoka and other high authorities in Japan to the effect that their countries under the Tripartite arrangement were out by military force to establish a new order not for Asia alone

not for Europe alone, but for the world, and a new order under their control. I said that whatever interpretation the Ambassador might give these utterances and military activities in harmony with them thus far, the American people who were long complacent with respect to dangerous international developments have of late become very thoroughly aroused and awakened to what they regard as a matter of most serious concern in relation to movements by Japan and Germany, presumably to take charge of the seas and the other continents for their own personal arbitrary control and pecuniary profit at the expense of the welfare of all of the peoples, who are victims of such a course and of peaceful nations in general. I said, of course, these apprehensions and this tremendous concern will remain and continue so long as Hitler continues his avowed course of unlimited conquest and tyrannical rule and so long as the Japanese Army and Navy increase their occupation by force of other and distant areas on both land and sea, with no apparent occasion to do so other than that of capture and exclusive use of the territory and other interests of other countries. The Ambassador again sought to allay the idea of military conquest on the part of his country, and I again replied with emphasis that so long as Japanese forces were all over China and Japanese troops and airplanes and naval vessels were as far south as Thailand and Indochina and Saigon, accompanied by such threatening declarations as Japanese statesmen are making week after week, there can only be increasing concern by nations who are vitally interested in international affairs both on land and sea as they are also vitally interested in the halt of world conquest by force and barbaric methods of government.

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I proceeded to comment on Japan's line of activities and utterances by saying that this country and most other countries only proclaim and practice policies of peaceful international relationships, political, economic, social and cultural. Sometimes the policy to promote these mutually beneficial relationships is proclaimed, such as our good neighbor policy with special reference to Pan America. And yet all of our acts and programs and policies adopted by the twenty-one American nations in their conferences from time to time are made universal in their application, so that Japan and all other nations receive the same equal opportunities for trade and commerce generally throughout the Americas that each of the American nations receives itself. In striking contrast the new order in greater Eastern Asia is unequivocally believed to be purely a program of military aggression and conquest with entirely arbitrary policies of political, economic and military domination.

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Foreign Relations II, p.389 at
pp. 392-3, 395

國務長官覺書

一九四三年三月八日(ワシントン)

抜萃

次ニ大使、如何ニストモ有害ニ結果、之ヲ避ケ得
キ非ルガ故ニ我等兩國間、戦争、如キハ殆ニト考
ヘンゾト言ヘリ。斯イテ余、我等兩國間、軍事
衝突、有害ナル結果ニ関シテ、我國ニ於テモ同
感ナル旨陳述セリ。次、余、大使ニ三國が我が
眼前ニ於テ海陸軍、部隊ヲ編制進出シ、
海ヲ又全交易ノ一トシ、又、四大陸ヲ包含
世界制覇ヲナスヲ合衆國、如キ重要諸國が
對ニ生視スルモノト、彼ノ政府麾下ノ軍部、或予
期スルニ非ズヤヲ質問セリ。斯ル活動、行ハル、際
ニ我國、如キ諸國が是安カトシテキルヤ、ト彼等
ガ予期セル旨ガアウカ。余ニ更ニ我國、如キ國家
ガ法規、正義、秩序、公平、平等ニ代フルニ武力ヲ行
服ヲ以テスル行動ヲ欣然迎ヘテ、何ヲ得ヤ
ヲ質問セリ。大使、事實、彼ノ政府ノ心中ニカル
軍事征服思想アリトスル見解ヲ輕視スニトセカ
且吾國ニ依ル輸出入禁止、勿論漸次関心ヲ増大
事柄ニテ吾國ニヨル輸出入禁止政策ガ彼ノ國、
政府ヲ掌握セル者、眼ニ彼ノ國、政府ヨリテ之
ノ軍事處置ニ出テセラルト田心、限リ今日
以上ノ行動ヲナスコトナルベシト田心、口頭
シリ。

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之對、余、次、如、之、追、合、セ、リ。即、千、此、問、題、に、全、く、彼、
政府、亭、中、ニ、ア、ル、問、題、ナ、リ。何、故、ナ、リ、バ、彼、政府、
軍、事、侵、略、並、ニ、他、國、領、土、獲、得、先、鞭、ヲ、著、ケ、之、ガ、
爲、我、國、其、他、諸、國、側、此、計、畫、サ、シ、タ、ル、日、本、
軍、事、征、服、最、大、限、度、ニ、関、シ、益、深、キ、関、心、ヲ、抱、
カ、セ、シ、メ、ラ、レ、タ、リ、テ、我、國、非、難、ヲ、受、ウ、ズ、キ、テ、ナ、ク、
然、レ、モ、征、服、ニ、従、事、セ、ル、諸、國、日、本、ヲ、合、ス、或、三、國、側、於、
ケ、ル、現、行、武、力、世、界、征、霸、運、動、ニ、関、シ、也、何、ナ、ル、不、
履、行、又、ハ、干、犯、行、爲、ニ、對、シ、テ、天、眞、劍、ニ、我、國、ヲ、
責、メ、ニ、ト、ス、ル、國、一、國、ヲ、カ、リ、シ、ニ、日、答、ヘ、タ、リ。茲、ニ、
於、テ、大、使、日、本、カ、ニ、公、報、因、三、旦、ル、不、當、軍、事、征、霸、
ヲ、行、フ、ア、リ、ト、見、解、ヲ、最、小、限、ニ、シ、且、婉、曲、ニ、之、
ヲ、論、駁、セ、ニ、ト、セ、リ。サ、レ、バ、余、ハ、三、國、同、盟、條、項、又、
「ワ、シ、ン、ト、ウ」松、岡、並、ニ、其、他、日、本、高、官、ニ、依、ル、三、
國、協、定、下、三、國、武、力、ニ、ヨ、リ、帝、ニ、東、亞、新、秩、序、
建、設、又、ハ、帝、ニ、歐、洲、新、秩、序、建、設、ニ、ナ、ラ、ス、實、ニ、
全、世、界、新、秩、序、彼、等、統、制、下、新、秩、序、建、設、
爲、ニ、出、動、セ、リ、ト、イ、フ、日、宣、言、ヲ、繰、返、シ、タ、リ。余、ハ、大、
使、ガ、之、等、ノ、三、言、辭、及、夫、ト、一、致、ス、ル、今、日、迄、軍、事、
行、動、ヲ、如、何、ニ、解、釋、ス、ル、ト、モ、國、際、情、勢、危、險、
ナ、ル、進、展、ニ、関、シ、長、ク、日、安、如、タ、リ、シ、米、國、民、天、近、時、
全、ク、目、覺、メ、日、独、軍、事、行、動、ト、恐、ラ、ク、ニ、カ、ル、
過、程、被、害、者、ニ、シ、テ、大、体、ニ、於、テ、平、和、的、國、民、タ、
ル、全、國、民、福、祉、ヲ、犧、牲、ニ、シ、テ、彼、等、自、身、專、

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斷的支配及び金錢上、利益ヲ得ニガ爲ニ海洋及諸大陸ヲ處理セントスル行動ニ就キ、最大関心事ト考ヘトニ奮起セント言ヘリ。余ハ勿論「トニ」ガ彼ノ公言セル無限ノ征服ノ道ヲ辿リ續ケ非道ノ支配ヲ繼續スル限リ、又日本ノ陸海軍ガ他國ノ領土其ノ他ノ權益ヲ略取シ專用スルト言フ以外ニ何等之ヲトス判然タル理由ナシトモ、又遠隔ニ陸海兩域ノ武力ヲ領擴大ヲ續行スル限リ、如上ノ危險並ニ此ノ絶大ナル関心ニ存續スベシト言ヘリ。大使ハ又天自國側、軍事征服ノ見解ヲ緩和セシメリサレバ余ハ日本ノ軍隊ガ中國全域ニ在リ、又日本ノ軍隊航空機、海軍艦船ガ泰國印度支那、西貢、如キ南方迄ニ進出シ、一方日本政治家ガ毎週毎週ナルガ如キ喧嘩的聲明ヲ発スル限リ、海陸兩域ニ於テハ國際情勢ニ大関心ヲ持ツ諸國、武力及ニ露的支配手段ニ依リ世界ヲ征覇、休止ニ極メテ関心ヲ有スルガ故ニ之等諸國、関心ノ増大ニテ停止スルコトヲ知ラザルベキヲ再度強調セリ。

余ハ言明スル所ニ據リテ、諸國ノ政治、經濟、社會、文化ニ平和的國際親善政策ヲ主張シ之ヲ實行スル、ミナリトシ日本、言動ノ範圍ニ関シ評論セリ。況米ニ特ニ關係アル善隣政策、如キ互惠關係助長政策ガ特ニ揚言サレテ居ル。而モ米國ニ一國民ニ依リ其、

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屢次、會議ニ於テ採用セラレタル議決、企畫、政
策ハ皆其ノ適用於普遍化サレテ井ル。從ツテ日本
其、他各國ハ米國民ト同じく通商、機會均等
ヲ大体全米ヲ通シテ受ケル、テアル。然ルニ全米之
ニ反シ大東亞新秩序ニアツテハ政治、經濟、軍
事、官轄、全ク、專制政策ヲ伴フ純然タル
軍事的侵略征服計畫ナルコトハ明カニ信ぜラ
ル所ナリ。

外交關係 第二卷

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No. 4

Doc. No. 220 C (22)

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(WASHINGTON,) March 14, 1941

Excerpts.

.....

The President again returned to the Tripartite Agreement and said that it had upset the American people because they think that a concerted effort is being made by Germany and Italy to reach the Suez Canal and by Japan on the other hand to approach Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies and the Indian Ocean. The Japanese Ambassador spoke more strongly than he had in his earlier talk with me, expressing his belief that his country would not go South.

.....

The President finally remarked that, as the Ambassador indicated, matters between our two countries could undoubtedly be worked out without a military clash, emphasizing that the first step in this direction would be the removal of suspicion and fear regarding Japan's intentions. I here remarked that, of course, with Matsuoka astride the Axis on his way to Berlin and talking loudly as he goes, and Japanese naval and air forces in the vicinity of Indochina, Thailand and Saigon, with no explanation but with serious inferences, the Ambassador must realize how acute feeling and opinion in this country have become.

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Foreign Relations II, v. 396
at pp. 397-398

國務長官ニ依リ變書

(ワシントン)一九四一年三月十四日

Doc 220c(22)

拔萃

大統領ハ再ビ三國協定ニ言及シ獨伊ガ「スエズ」運河ニ達セシ
ト一方日本ガ「シンガポール」蘭領印度及印度洋ニ接近セシトス
ル努力ガ拂ヒテナルト米國民ガ考ヘタ爲 其ハ米國民ヲ轉倒セシ
メタト語ツタ 日本大使ハ日本ハ南進セザルベシト彼ハ信念ヲ披瀝
シ 彼ガ從來私ト會談ニ於テナシタルヨリモ一層力強ク語ツタ
大統領ハ最後ニ大使ハ示タ如ク 吾ガ兩國間ニ今在ル事件ハ
武力衝突ナクシテ解決ニ得ルコトハ疑ヒナシデアラウト述ベク
又此方向ニ向ツテ 第一歩ハ日本ハ意圖ニ関スル疑惑ト驚怖
ノ除去デアルトカラ龍メヲ語ツタ
ツ、時私ハ 松岡ガ樞軸、熱意ニ加ヒテ氣焰ヲ上ケ作ラベルリ
ヘ、途上ニアリ 又日本海空軍ガ印度支那、泰西貢、近辺ニ在
ツテ シカモソレニ對シ何等、説明モ加ヘズ事態、重大ナルヲ暗示シ
ナルコトヨリ 吾、國、國民、感情及ビ意見ガ如何ニ鋭敏ト
ナツテ來テナルカラ 大使ハ勿論悟ラレデアラウト述ベク

外交関係

II p 396 at PP.

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